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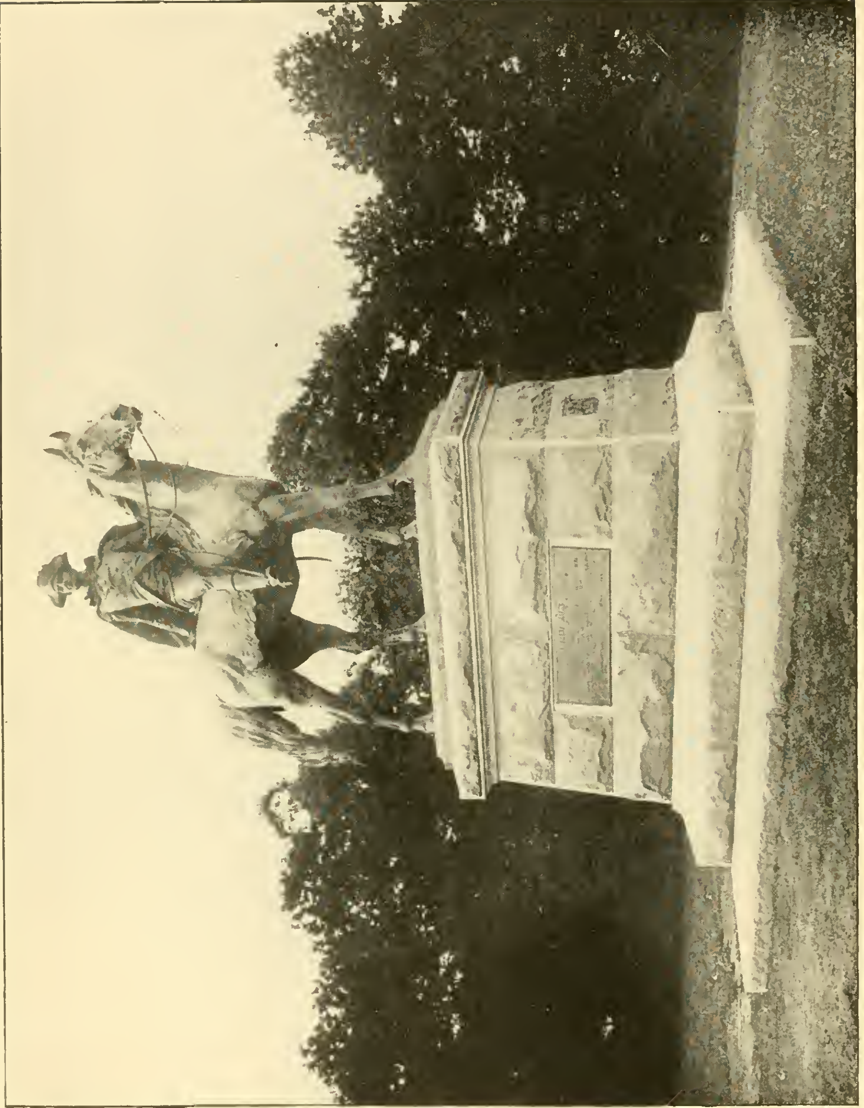

ANTHONY WAYNE

BY

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ANTHONY WAYNE.[1]

"Egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis muneribus."

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D.

[An address delivered at VALLEY FORGE, June 20, 1908, in the presence of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution at the dedication of the equestrian statue of Major General Anthony Wayne, Commander-in-Chief United States Army, erected by the Commonwealth.]

At the close of the unsuccessful campaign of 1777, which had resulted in the capture, by the British under Sir William Howe, of Philadelphia, the capital city of the revolted colonies, Washington, in writing, requested the opinions of his generals as to what should be his military policy during the approaching winter. One of them, a brigadier, then thirty-two years of age, after making a full review of the situation, recommended for the army either a camp at Wilmington, "or hutting at the distance of about twenty miles west of Philadelphia." The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, after the lapse of one hundred and thirty-one years, in the presence of the descendants of the men who fought the battles of the Revolution, to-day erects this equestrian statue in

[1] This study was prepared mainly from original letters of Wayne and the other generals of the Revolution in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

bronze, in memory of him who so accurately forecasted, if he did not determine, the encampment at Valley Forge. She presents him to mankind as a soldier who participated with honor and unusual éclat in nearly every important engagement from Canada in the North to Georgia in the South throughout that struggle, and as the capable general-in-chief of the army of the United States, who later amid vast difficulties, and in personal command, brought to a successful result what has proven to be in its consequences one of the most momentous wars in which the country has ever been engaged.

Anthony Wayne had other and earlier associations with the Valley Forge. Within four miles of this camp ground, in the Township of Easttown, in the County of Chester, he was born, and from here in 1758 he hauled the hides bought by his father at the store in connection with the forge where the family of Potts hammered out their iron.

His grandfather, Anthony Wayne, went from Yorkshire, in England, to Ireland, where he fought in the battle of the Boyne among the forces of William III, and he afterward emigrated to Pennsylvania.

Isaac Wayne, the youngest son of the immigrant, was the owner of a large tract of land in Easttown, which he cultivated and where he had a tannery, and he was beside much concerned in the political controversies of the time. The popular Party, the opponents of the proprietary interests, elected him to the Provincial Assembly for several terms. He had a bitter quarrel with Moore of Moore Hall, an old-time aristocrat and pet of the Governor, both Colonel and Judge, and he has the lasting distinction of being one of the characters portrayed in the Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi, 1758, one of the brightest and most spirited bits of literature the American Colonies produced. St. David's Episcopal Church at Radnor, an ancient shrine where Parson Currie preached and starved, sung about by poets and written about by historians, owed very much to his earnest and loyal support.

Anthony Wayne, son of Isaac, looming up before us today, was born January 1, 1745, and grew to young man-

hood upon his father's plantation of over five hundred acres, and about the tannery, traces of which still remain. He had the benefit of a somewhat desultory education received from an uncle living in the country, and he spent two years in Philadelphia at the academy out of which arose the University of Pennsylvania. The bent of his mind even in boyhood was to mathematics rather than to literature. At the time of the French and Indian war, wherein his father had served as a captain, he was at an age when startling events make their strongest and most lasting impressions, and in his sport he discarded balls and marbles to construct intrenchments and engage in mimic battles. At the academy he studied surveying and determined to make that occupation the pursuit of his life. An elaborate and somewhat artistic survey of the Township of Vincent, in Chester County, made by him in 1774, is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and his correspondence relating to military affairs is often illustrated with the plans which he drew.

In 1765, when in his twenty-first year, in association with Matthew Clarkson; John Hughes, the stamp collector; William Smith, the creator of the university; William Moore of Moore Hall; Joseph Richardson, captain in the French and Indian war; Benjamin Franklin; Israel Jacobs, afterward a member of Congress; and others of the leading men of the province, he participated in an effort to found a colony in Canada. One hundred thousand acres of land on the St. John's River and a tract of like extent on the Peticoodiac River were granted to them. A town was located, lots were sold, and settlers were transported. Wayne went to Canada with Benjamin Jacobs as the surveyor for the company, and spent the summers of 1765 and 1766 there, but the enterprise resulted in failure, and at the time of his death he still owned his proportion of these lands. To some extent his activities found expression in a civil career. In several of the conventions which took the preliminary steps leading up to the Revolutionary War,

he as a delegate bore an active part; in 1775 he was a member of the Committee of Safety; for three years he sat in the Assembly, and he was a member of the Council of Censors, and of the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. These public services, important as they may have been, were only incidental and subsidiary in determining the value of the labors of his life.

With the first breath of the coming war blowing from the northward in 1775, the instincts of the soldier plunged him into the field and he organized a regiment of "minute men" in Chester County.

On the 4th of January, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. This regiment, together with the Second and Sixth, was formed into a brigade under the command of General Wm. Thompson, and hurried away to Canada. Montgomery had been killed, Arnold had been defeated in an assault upon Quebec, and that army badly needed help. The forces from far away Pennsylvania reached them on the fifth of June at the mouth of the Sorel, between Quebec and Montreal, whither they had retreated. Sullivan, who was in command, a week later ordered Thompson with 1450 men, all of them Pennsylvanians except a battalion from New Jersey under Maxwell, to attack a force of British estimated to be four hundred strong, at Three Rivers, forty-seven miles down the St. Lawrence. Instead of being a surprise, as had been expected, the effort resulted in an encounter with three thousand men under Burgoyne. After a march of nine miles through a swamp under fire from the boats in the river, with Wayne in the advance, the gallant troops pushed their way up to the breastworks of the enemy, before unknown, and then were compelled to retreat. Thompson, Irvine and other officers had been captured; three hundred and fifty men had been lost, but Anthony Wayne had fought his first battle and received the first of many wounds, and they had "saved the army in Canada." Two days later he wrote cheerily "our people are in high spirits and long for another

bout." Nevertheless the army was in full retreat to Ticonderoga, and already Wayne, left in command of the Pennsylvania troops, had found the place of danger. Wilkinson tells that Allen said to him, "Colonel Wayne is in the rear," and if anybody could render assistance, "he is the man," that he found "the gallant soldier as much at his ease as if he were marching to a parade at exercise," and that when mistaken for the enemy by Sullivan, he "pulled out his glass and seemed to enjoy the panic."

Already he had made his mark. On the 18th of November, General Schuyler gave him the command of Fort Ticonderoga, at that time, since the British had in view a separation of the country by an advance from Canada, one of the most important of our military posts, and placed him at the head of a force of twenty-five hundred men. "It was my business," he says in one of his letters, "to prevent a junction of the enemy's armies and . . . . to keep at bay their whole Canadian force."

He remained at Ticonderoga until April 12th, 1777. His stay there covered that depressing period of the war prior to the battle of Trenton, during which Washington was defeated at Long Island, three thousand men were lost with Fort Washington, and the main army, its officers retiring and its rank and file deserting, was threatened with entire disintegration. Difficulties accumulated around him. The terms of service of his soldiers expired, and to fill their places became almost impossible. Some of the soldiers, who came into camp from the Eastern States, on one occasion deserted the same night. Recruiting officers from the same part of the country were endeavoring to secure enlistments even in his own regiment. He was holding men three weeks after their terms of service were ended. Hearing that a company, claiming their enlistments to have expired the month before, were on the march for home, he halted them and called for their leader. A sergeant stepped to the front. "I presented a pistol to his breast. He fell on his knees to beg his life. I then ordered the whole to ground their

arms," and they obeyed. A certain Josiah Holliday endeavored again to incite them to mutiny, whereupon Wayne "thought proper to chastise him for his insolence on the spot, before the men," or as Holliday himself puts it, did "shamefully beat and abuse him." The captain interfered and was placed under arrest for abetting a mutiny.

The garrison had dwindled in numbers and one-third of them were Negroes, Indians and children. The enemy were threatening his own home in distant Chester County, and the only comfort he could give his wife "Polly," the daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, was to tell her: "Should you be necessitated to leave Easttown, I doubt not but you'll meet with hospitality in the back parts of the Province," and yet never for an instant did he falter. He had studied the campaigns of Cæsar and Marshal Saxe, and he believed that too much attention was given to forming lines and too little to disciplining and manœuvring: that "the only good lines are those nature made," and that American liberty would never be established until the army learned "to beat the English Rebels in the field." He constructed an abattis around the fort, octagons upon the top of an adjacent mount, built two new block-houses to render the station tenable and secure, and then he wrote to Schuyler asking to be sent to the South in order to meet "those Sons of War and rapine face to face and man to man." He added: "These worthy fellows [his Pennsylvania comrades] are second to none in courage. I have seen them proved and I know they are not far behind any regulars in point of discipline. Such troops actuated by principle, and fired with just resentment, must be an acceptable and perhaps seasonable reënforcement to General Washington at this critical juncture."

He received a commission as brigadier general February 21, 1777, and two months later Washington, then in New Jersey, wrote to him, "Your presence here will be materially wanted." For nearly a year he had successfully maintained the post at Ticonderoga, which was surrendered almost as soon as he had departed, and had confronted the

proposed advance of the army under Burgoyne, and now after "the charming Miss Schuyler" had made him a new cockade, he hastened to Morristown to take command of the Pennsylvania Line in the army of Washington. Just as within the memories of some of us, who are here present, Pennsylvania during the War of the Rebellion, alone of all the States, had an entire division in the service, known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, in like manner there were in the Continental service throughout the War of the Revolution, thirteen regiments, distinguished for their gallantry and efficiency in the many battles of that sanguinary struggle, which came from the same State, and were united into two divisions, designated as the Pennsylvania Line. Eight of these regiments were placed under the command of Wayne. Washington was then encamped on the heights of Middlebrook, whence he could look toward the Hudson on the one side and the Delaware on the other, should Howe show a disposition to move in either direction. He needed a general, active, alert and intelligent, with a force upon which dependence could be placed to cover the stretch of country between West Point and Philadelphia. He sent for Wayne and posted him in front, giving him charge of the pass on the most important road leading to and from the camp. Within three weeks an opportunity arose. A detachment of the British army advanced as far as Brunswick. Wayne made an attack upon these forces on the second of May, and after pushing them from one redoubt to another, finally drove them within their lines at Amboy. He reported to the Board of War: "The conduct of the Pennsylvanians the other day in forcing General Grant to retire with circumstances of shame and disgrace into the very lines of the enemy, has gained them the esteem of his excellency," and Benjamin Rush wrote: "The public have done you justice for your gallant behavior in checking the prowess of Mr. Grant." The brave soldiers who achieved this success and were so praised for their efforts had never received any uniforms except hunting shirts, which were

then worn out, but it is a comfort to know that about this time Sally Peters sent to Wayne by wagon, "a jar of pickled oysters," and he was enabled to buy three gallons and five quarts of Madeira wine. Graydon, who sought the camp, tells us that he "entertained a most sovereign contempt for the enemy," but that he, who had been accustomed to appear in exemplary neatness of apparel, was now dressed "in a dingy red coat, a black, rusty cravat, and tarnished lace hat." Only dire necessity could have caused the condition of his attire, for he still maintained that "pride in a soldier is a substitute for almost every other virtue."

At last Howe, who had been waiting in the vain hope that Washington would cease clinging to the heights and would make the blunder of coming down on to the plain to fight him, determined upon an aggressive policy. On the twenty-fourth of July, Washington wrote to Wayne, "The fleet have just gone out of the Hook, and as Delaware appears to be the most probable destination, I desire you will leave your brigade, go to Chester and organize the militia of Pennsylvania." He gathered them together into three brigades, probably three thousand in number, since one of them had thirteen hundred and fifty-six men, and put them under the command of John Armstrong, the hero of the famous battle and victory over the Indians at Kittanning in 1756. "Time at last sets all things even," and a descendant of Armstrong is here to-day, one of the Commissioners charged with the duty of erecting this statue. The celebrated Elizabeth Graeme, whom Aunt Gainor, in "Hugh Wynne," called "That cat Bessie Ferguson," scratched at him after this fashion: "Two suttlers in the rear of your division inticed my slave with them, with my wagon and two very fine oxen . . . the heat of the weather and the violent manner the poor beasts were drove occasioned one of them to drop down dead."

He wanted to see his family, from whom he had long been separated—they were now not very distant—but an early battle was anticipated, and he had been peremptorily

forbidden by Washington to leave the army and ordered to hasten at the head of his division to Wilmington. The duties of three generals were imposed upon him, and yet his thought not limited to their performance was busy with plans for the campaign. He feared the enemy might reach the city by the fords near the Falls of Schuylkill, and in order to prevent such a contingency proposed to march forward and give them battle. On the second of September he recommended to Washington that three thousand of the best armed and disciplined troops make a regular and vigorous assault on one of the flanks of the enemy, trusting to surprise for success, and added: "I wish to be of the number assigned for this business." The suggestion was not adopted, but a week later Howe pursued precisely this plan at Brandywine and won a decided victory. In that memorable engagement, Wayne, with his division, was on the left upon the east bank of the Brandywine where Chad's Ford offered a means of crossing the creek. Throughout the entire day he maintained his position, preventing the advance of Knyphausen, and occasionally sending detachments to the opposite shore, but the right wing under Sullivan and Greene had been turned and crushed, and at sunset, finding that he was becoming enmeshed between Howe on the front and the fortunate Cornwallis in the rear, he in good order retired. The steadfastness on the left saved the right from entire destruction.

On the eighteenth, Washington, then at Reading Furnace, on the French Creek, in Chester County, and expecting to cross the Schuylkill River, determined to detach a part of his forces to harass the rear of the enemy while he, with the main army, should defend the fords. Such a plan necessarily involved the separation of the army with a river between, the close proximity of the harassing force to the enemy, and the danger of an attack upon this force by overwhelming numbers. That such risks were not unrecognized is shown by the letter of Washington written from Pott's Grove, September 23rd, before he had learned of the affair

at Paoli, recalling the order and saying: "Should we continue detached and in a divided state I fear we shall neither be able to attack or defend ourselves." However, he selected Wayne for this dangerous service, gave him twelve to fifteen hundred men, and wrote to him on the eighteenth: "I must call your utmost exertion in fitting yourselves in the best manner you can for following and harrassing their rear," and saying further: "The army here is so much fatigued that it is impossible I should move them this afternoon." Evidently anxious, he the same day recites: "Having wrote twice to you already to move forward." Celerity and secrecy were both necessary for the success of such a venture. Unhappily these two letters referred to had both fallen into the hands of the enemy. This fact alone would have been fatal. Wayne, being informed that the British were about to march for the Schuylkill on the twenty-first, took a position on the high ground near Paoli, within four miles of the enemy, and there he established six pickets and a horse picket to patrol the road. At eleven o'clock on the night of the twentieth, General Grey, with a much superior force, attacked him. He held the ground for an hour and saved his artillery, but lost one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded and had met with the only defeat of his career. A court-martial called at his request found that he deserved the "highest honor" as "an active, brave and vigilant officer." Rumor ran through the neighborhood that he had been killed, that he had been taken prisoner, and that his life had been saved through his hurry in putting on his coat with the red lining outside. That same night a squad of British marched to his house, thrust their bayonets into a huge boxwood bush that still grows and thrives in the yard, "but behaved with the utmost politeness to the women."

Not in the least daunted, at the Council of War attended by twenty generals, held before Germantown at Pennypacker's Mills on the twenty-ninth, he, with four others, was in favor of again giving battle. There can be little doubt that the spirit he displayed at this time, as upon

every other occasion, had its effect upon his companions and was influential in bringing about that change to a more aggressive policy which led to the results at Germantown, Monmouth and Yorktown. "The enemy's being in possession of Philadelphia," he said, "is of no more consequence than their being in possession of the City of New York or Boston." On the eve of Germantown he wrote: "I have the most happy presage of entering Philadelphia at the head of troops covered with laurels before the close of the day." The value of such vitality to a defeated army at the close of a lost campaign cannot be overestimated.

At Germantown his division encountered and attacked the right wing of the British army to the east of the town, charged with bayonets, crying out for "Paoli and revenge," put the enemy to rout and pursued them for three miles, killing with little mercy those who were overcome. On the retreat of the Americans, after the check at the Chew House and the confusion caused by the fog, he was in the rear and with cannon and musketry brought to an end Howe's attempted pursuit. The British General Hunter, in his history, records: "General Wayne commanded the advance. . . . Had we not retreated at the time we did, we should all have been taken or killed. . . But this was the first time we had ever retreated from the Americans," and he asserts that Howe, swept by passion, shouted, "For shame . . . I never saw you retreat before," but the rattle of grape through the limbs of a chestnut tree under which he stood convinced him, also, of the necessity. Wayne's theory that the liberty of America would be secured when the British were taught respect upon the field of battle, was taking a concrete form. At eight o'clock that night, apparently unwearied by the great exertions of the day, he wrote to Washington, hoping for "their total defeat the next tryal, which I wish to see brought to issue the soonest possible." Two days later he wrote from Pennypacker's Mills a long letter to his wife, as remarkable as it was characteristic. He gave in detail the military movements of

the battle, which evidently absorbed his thought. There was, nevertheless, one series of incidents, of minor importance no doubt to him if not to her, which had been overlooked. They suddenly occurred to him as he closed. "I had forgotten to mention that my roan horse was killed under me within a few yards of the enemy's front, . . . and my left foot a little bruised by one of their cannon shot. . . . I had a slight touch on my left hand. . . . It was a glorious day."

On the twenty-seventh of October, in response to a query from Washington as to whether it would be prudent to attempt to dislodge the enemy, he recommended that an immediate attack be made, and he advanced as reasons for his opinion that the ground was not disadvantageous, that the shipping in the river could assist, that in the event of failure they had a stretch of open country to which to retire, that if no attempt were made the forts on the Delaware must fall, affording the enemy comfortable quarters, and finally that the Americans would be forced from the field, or lose more by sickness and desertion in a naked, discontented army than in an action. The subsequent evacuation of Fort Mifflin, with loss of control of the Delaware, and the experiences at Valley Forge seemed to justify at least some of his conclusions. Fort Mifflin on the west bank of the Delaware had been besieged for six weeks, the British had erected works on Province Island, near enough to threaten the fort, when Wayne was ordered with his division and the corps of Morgan to "storm the enemy's lines, spike their cannon, and ruin their works." Wayne gladly undertook the difficult and dangerous task, but the day before the effort was to have been made the fort was abandoned. Another Council of War was held November the twenty-fourth and the same question broached. Wayne was decided in his view that the credit of the army, the safety of the country, the honor of American arms, the approach of winter, and the depreciation of the currency made it necessary to give battle to the enemy, and he advised that the army march

the next morning to the upper end of Germantown. He admitted the hazard and the undoubted loss of life, but believed that the bold course would prove to be the most effective.

His life at Valley Forge, where his division occupied the centre of the outer line, was an unceasing struggle to secure recruits and sufficient arms to equip and clothing to cover his soldiers. Nearly all of the deaths and desertions, he says, were due to nakedness and dirt. He did not want rifles, but muskets with bayonets, believing that the mere consciousness of the possession of a bayonet gave a sense of security, and that without being used it was an element of safety. Provisions grew to be scarce and he was sent with five hundred and fifty men to the agricultural regions of New Jersey to collect cattle for the army. On one occasion he sent to the camp one hundred and fifty cattle and thirty horses. With the British, who crossed the Delaware from Philadelphia upon a like errand, he, and Count Pulaski at the head of fifty horse, had a combat of some severity in the neighborhood of Haddonfield, and another at Cooper's Ferry. Not only did he succeed in feeding the army, but his energetic movements became the subject of a ribald poem, entitled, "The Cow Chase," written by John André, the vivacious adjutant general of the British army, in which to some extent the author foreshadowed his own unhappy fate, should he fall into the hands of Wayne.

On the return of Wayne to the camp at Valley Forge he, on the twenty-first of April, 1778, again urged upon Washington that "many reasons, in my humble opinion, both political and prudential, point to the expediency of putting the enemy on the defensive." He recommended making an effort against Howe or New York, saying, "Whatever part may be assigned to me, I shall always, and at all times, be ready to serve you." Ere long his wish was gratified. The British, fearing a blockade of the Delaware River by the French fleet, were about to evacuate Philadelphia. Again Washington called a Council of War. The advice of Wayne

was "that the whole of the army be put in motion the soonest possible for some of the ferries on the Delaware above Trent Town, so as to be ready to act as soon as the enemy's movement shall be ascertained," and then if the North River should prove to be their objective point "take the first favorable opportunity to make a vigorous and serious attack." Manifestly his earnestness of purpose was having its effect, since this was the course a few days afterward pursued.

At another Council of War held on the twenty-fourth of June, Wayne and Cadwalader, the two Pennsylvanians alone, supported to some extent by Lafayette and Greene, declared in favor of active and aggressive measures. On this occasion Wayne had his way, and two days afterward the two armies were within a few miles of each other and about to come into contact. Washington determined to attack the rear guard of the enemy, which was protecting the baggage train, and sent General Charles Lee, with five thousand men, among whom was Wayne, five miles in advance with this purpose in view. Lee ordered Wayne, telling him that his was the post of honor, to lead the advance, and with seven hundred men to assail the left rear of the British. Before, however, this movement could be accomplished, they assumed the aggressive. A charge by Simcoe's Rangers upon Butler's Pennsylvania regiment was repulsed, but reënforcements in great numbers came to their assistance. At this time, while Wayne was engaged in a desperate struggle, the heart of Lee failed him, and he marched his men not forward in support, but about face to the rear. His excuse was that the temerity of Wayne had brought upon him "the whole flower of the British Army, Grenadiers, Light Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, amounting in all to seven thousand men." Washington, meeting Lee in retreat, in anger assumed command and ordered Wayne, who to avoid capture had been compelled to follow, to take Craig's Third Pennsylvania, Irvine's Seventh Pennsylvania, Stewart's Thirteenth Pennsylvania, a Maryland

regiment and a regiment from Virginia and check the pursuit. Holding a position in an orchard, between two hills near the parsonage of Monmouth, they repelled two determined onsets and gained time for the occupation ot the high ground by the forces sent to the front by Washington. Finally Colonel Henry Monckton, brother of Lord Galway, after a brief speech appealing to the pride, and calling attention to the brilliant services of the British Guards, led them forward in a bayonet charge, with impetuous fury, against the troops of Wayne. They were unable to withstand the withering fire they encountered and, driven back in confusion, left the dead body of the Colonel on the field. Other efforts were continued for more than an hour, but in vain. The élite of the British Army and the ragged Continentals from the huts of Valley Forge had met upon the plains of Monmouth and the fame of the deeds of Anthony Wayne was nevermore to fade from the memories of men. "Pennsylvania showed the road to victory" was the expression of what was probably his keenest gratification. "I cannot forbear mentioning Brigadier General Wayne, whose conduct and bravery through the whole action deserves particular commendation," was the stately and subdued comment of George Washington. Later a duel with Lee, which these events threatened, was happily averted.

After the exertions of Monmouth there was a long lull in military activities. The British held possession of New York, and the army of Washington, stretched across New Jersey, kept watch upon their movements. Throughout this period of inaction the difficulties of the Continental Army in maintaining the numbers of the rank and file, in supplying them with pay, arms, clothing and provisions, in arranging the grades ot the officers, were serious and so continuous as to become chronic. On the fifth of October, 1778, Wayne wrote to Robert Morris: "By the first of January we shall have more Continental troops in the field than any other State in the whole Confederacy, but not as

many general officers." At this time Pennsylvania had two brigades with the main army, three hundred men with Colonel Butler on the Mohawk, three hundred men with Colonel Brodhead at Pittsburg, and a regiment with Colonel Hartley at Sunbury. The service, according to Wayne, promised nothing "but indigence and want." The pay had become a mere *vox et praeterea nihil.* The Clothier General of the army refused to furnish them with clothing, giving as a reason that, unlike the other States, they had their own State Clothier. When his men burned some fences to keep themselves warm, Scamell, the aide to Lord Stirling, proceeded to read him a lecture. "In case he (the Major General) is obliged to repeat the orders again, he shall be under the disagreeable necessity of pointing out the Pennsylvania troops in particular," said Scamell in a reflected lordly fashion. Wayne, entirely able to hold his own, and ever ready to support his troops, replied: "During the very severe storm from Christmas to New Year's, whilst our people lay without any cover except their old tents, and when the drifting of snow prevented the green wood from taking fire," yes, they burned some rails, but fifty men had first been frostbitten. The other troops "were either cooped in huts or cantoned in houses. . . It is not new to the Pennsylvanians to be taken notice of in general orders." It was always his effort to keep them "well and comfortable," and no commander ever had more trustful and devoted followers.

When Doctor Jones sent to him a bear skin, he was delighted. Occasionally his thoughts wandered toward his home. To Polly he sent "A tierce of beer, some rock fish and oysters with a little good fresh beef," saying, "I would advise you to make immediate use of the fish." Again he wrote to her, "I am not a little anxious about the education of our girl and boy. It is full time that Peggy should be put to the dancing school. How does she improve in her writing and reading? Does Isaac take learning freely? Has he become fond of school?"

Though Wayne had long with the greatest measure of success commanded a division, his rank and pay were only those of a brigadier, and he never throughout the Revolution received the advancement to which his services were entitled. Skill in securing recognition and compensation is an art in itself often quite apart from those qualities which accomplish great achievements. The man who is really intent upon his work often forgets the reward. And now his superior, St. Clair, that unfortunate general who had surrendered Ticonderoga, and who for some occult reason appears to have ever been a favorite with those in authority, came to take charge of the Pennsylvania line. Wayne, after having been promised command of the Light Infantry soon to be organized, and bearing with him the written and eager statement of his colonels, Harmar, Stewart and the rest, that his recent effort had "riveted the hearts of all ranks more firmly" to him and had rendered his "name more dear to the whole line," returned to Pennsylvania. His rest was not for long. Washington pondered over the possibilities of a desperate deed of "derring-doe" requiring military intelligence and personal courage of the highest character, and in its consideration in all probability weighed the qualities of every general then in the field with him. One day, June 24th, 1779, Wayne was in Philadelphia on his way to greet his family at Easttown, when a post rider gave him a despatch from Washington with the suggestive words: "I request that you join the army as soon as you can." Polly must forego the greeting and be left to her loneliness, and it meant a long farewell.

Stony Point, a rugged promontory covered with rock and wood, extending into the Hudson River for half a mile from the western shore line and rising to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, stood "like a solitary sentinel, ever keeping watch and ward over the gateway of the Highlands. Bending around its western base, and separating it from the mainland, a marsh sometimes to the depth of two feet crept from an entrance in the river to the north to an outlet in

the river to the south. An island fortress likened often in its strength and conformation to Gibraltar, it seemed to present insurmountable obstacles to any attacking force and with quiet and sardonic frown to threaten destruction. Upon the summit the British had erected a series of redoubts and had placed seven or eight disconnected batteries, while immediately below them an abattis extended the entire length of the crest. Within this fortification were four companies of the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry, one company of American tories and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. About one-third of the way down the hill from the summit ran a second line of abattis, supported by three redoubts, on which were brass twelve-pound cannon defended by two companies of the Seventeenth Regiment and two companies of Grenadiers. At the foot of the hill near the morass were five pickets, and the British vessels of war, which rode in the river, were able to sweep with their guns the low ground of the approaches. Four brass and four iron cannon, one howitzer and five mortars, amply supplied with ammunition, were at the service of the garrison, which consisted of over six hundred of the best disciplined and most trustworthy troops of the British army," commanded by a capable and gallant officer. At half after eleven o'clock on the night of July 15th, 1779, thirteen hundred and fifty men with bayonets fixed, and likewise "fresh shaved and well powdered," were waiting with Anthony Wayne on the farther side of the marsh to storm this formidable fortification. It was a most difficult undertaking, and the entire responsibility for the plan to be pursued, and the time and manner of carrying it out, rested upon Wayne. "So soon as you have fixed your plan and the time of execution I shall be obliged to you to give me notice," Washington wrote to him on the tenth of July, to which Wayne replied on the fourteenth, "I shall do myself the honor to enclose you the plan and disposition to-morrow." He determined upon an assault by two columns, one on the right and one on the left, each to consist of one hundred and fifty men with arms unloaded,

depending solely upon their bayonets, each preceded at the distance of sixty feet by a "forlorn hope," consisting of an officer and twenty men, while a force in the centre were to attract attention by a fire of musketry, but to make only a simulated attack. Never in the whole history of mankind has there occurred a situation which gives more forcibly the impression of absolute solemnity—the silence—the stern resolution of the musket grip—the morass in front, with its hidden uncertainties—the dangers and hopes that lay beyond on the threatening mount, and the deep darkness of the midnight. Wayne made his preparations for death. At eleven o'clock he sent certain roughly drawn papers to his dearest friend. "This will not meet your eye until the writer is no more. . . . I know that friendship will induce you to attend to the education of my little son and daughter. I fear that their mother will not survive this stroke. Do go to her. . . . I am called to sup, but where to breakfast, either within the enemy's lines in triumph or in the other world," were some of the utterances wrung from a burdened soul. On the way up the mount, just beyond the first abattis, he was struck by a ball which cut a gash two inches in length across his face and head, and felled him senseless to the ground. It was no light wound. Long afterward he was weak from the loss of blood which streamed over him. Three weeks later his mental faculties were still benumbed. Six weeks later it was yet unhealed. As soon as he regained consciousness he called aloud: "Lead me forward. . . Let me die in the fort," but continued to direct the movements with the point of his spear. In a few moments the words which he had adopted as a signal, "The Fort's our own," rang over the parapet; at two o'clock in the morning Wayne sent a despatch to Washington almost as laconic as the message of Cæsar: "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free"; of the twenty-one men in the "forlorn hope" led by Lieutenant James Gibbons, of Philadelphia,

seventeen had been shot; and a valorous feat of arms, unequalled in American annals, either before or since, ending in brilliant success, had caught the attention of the entire world to hold it forevermore.

At that time the laws of war permitted a garrison taken by storm to be put to the sword, and memory recalls more than one British victory in that and later wars stained with such cruelty. It is a great glory of Stony Point that no poor wretch cried for mercy in vain, and that all who submitted were saved. As an achievement more important than the capture of a stronghold and the exhibition of valor and military skill was the fact that it created confidence and self-respect, and aroused a sense of state and national pride, public virtues as much needed then as they are to-day. The calm Washington in a despatch to Congress said that the conduct of Wayne "through the whole of this arduous enterprise merits the warmest approbation," and the more impulsive Greene declared that the event would "immortalize General Wayne" as it would do honor to the first general in Europe. Girard, the French minister, wrote: "The most rare qualities were found united;" John Jay, "You have nobly reaped laurels in the cause of your country and in the fields of danger and death;" Sharp Delaney, "At a Town Meeting yesterday you had all our hats and hands in repeated acclamation;" Benjamin Rush, "Our streets for many days rung with nothing but the name of General Wayne;" Colonel Spotswood, of Virginia, "The greatest stroke that has been struck this war;" General Adam Stephens, "You have added dignity to the American arms and acquired immortal renown;" Colonel Sherman, that his name would "be coeval with the annals of American history;" Lafayette, that it was a "Glorious affair;" Steuben, "This gallant action would fix the character of the commanding officer in any part of the world;" General Lee, "I do most sincerely declare that your action in the assault on Stony Point is not only the most brilliant in my opinion through the whole course of this war on either side,

but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history," and the English commodore, George Collier, that "The rebels had made the attack with a bravery they never before exhibited and they showed at the moment a generosity and clemency which during the course of the rebellion had no parallel." The poet sang:

> "Each soldier darts amain
> And every youth with ardor burns
> To emulate our Wayne."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Supreme Executive Council passed resolutions thanking Wayne and the Pennsylvania line for "the honor they have reflected on the State to which they belong," and Congress, praising his "brave, prudent and soldier like conduct," ordered a gold medal to be presented to him, to be made in France under the supervision of Dr. Franklin. In the very nature of things such an event could not occur without producing an effect upon the relations of Wayne to the other officers of the army, in some instances enhancing their esteem and in others, it is to be feared, arousing their envy, and without influencing his personal fortunes. He turned sharply upon Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, with: "I don't wish to incur any gentleman's displeasure. I put up with no man's insults." Twice within the next six weeks Washington dined with him and referring to a recent incident in the conduct of military affairs, paid him this high compliment: "I had resolved to attempt the same enterprise, to be executed in the same manner you mention." The minds of the two men had come to be in an entire accord. About the same time he ordered: "One pair of elegant gold epaulets, superfine buff sufficient to face two uniform coats, with hair and silk, four dozen best yellow gilt coat buttons, plain and buff color lining suitable to the facing of one coat."

There was an officer in the army holding the high rank of a major general for whom Wayne had long held an unconcealed hostility, and whose conduct he viewed with sus-

picion. "I ever entertained the most despicable opinion of his abilities." "He had neither fortitude or personal courage other than what the bowl or glass supplied," were the comments of Wayne. At Morristown the officers of the Pennsylvania line had refused to serve under his command. After this officer, Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, had in 1780 planned to give possession of West Point to the enemy and the complot with Clinton had been discovered, while it was still uncertain how far the treason had extended and whether it might not be successful, Washington ordered the Pennsylvania Line to the place of danger and gave them charge of that post. The first and second brigades marched from Tappan at the instant that the order came, leaving their tents standing, without taking time to call in their guards and detachments, and hastened to seize the pass at Smith's White House, where they could dispute the advance of the enemy or retire to West Point as the situation demanded. Wayne, with the rest of the line, taking care to see that no more of the enemy passed up the river, seized the pass at Storms, from which a road in their rear ran to West Point, over which he could move rapidly and send the artillery and baggage. The order was received at one o'clock in the morning. At two they were on the march. It was a dark night, but without a halt they pushed ahead over the mountains "sixteen miles in four hours," and by sunrise were holding the passes. Washington in joyful surprise ejaculating "All is safe and I again am happy," went to bed after a long and uneasy watch

A few months later occurred that émeute which the writers of books have strangely been pleased to call "the revolt of the Pennsylvania line." In the latter part of 1780 the line had under arms two thousand and five men and they constituted, according to Dr. Stillé, as nearly as may be, two-thirds of the entire army. According to an estimate of Washington, they were one-third of his forces, and he said the army was "dwindling into nothing," and that

the officers, as well as the men, were renouncing the service. Within nine months one hundred and sixty-eight officers, including, however, only one from Pennsylvania, had resigned. It is altogether plain that in one way or another, for some reason about which it is unnecessary to inquire, in the main the troops from the other colonies had returned to their homes.

It was of the utmost importance for the success of the Continental cause that the men then in the service should be retained, even if in doing so the timbers of the ship had to be strained. The men in the line had been enlisted for "three years, or during the war." There can be but very little doubt as to the meaning of this contract. The only reasonable construction is that they were to remain at most for the three years, but if the war should end during that period, the government, having no longer use for their services, should be at liberty to discharge them. As it happened, the war lasted beyond the three years and it suited the necessities of the Government to act upon the assumption that "during the war" meant a time without limit. A large proportion of these men had been enlisted in 1776 and 1777, and therefore their terms of service had long expired and they were being held without warrant of law. Moreover, cold weather had come upon them, and in the language of Wayne, "the distressed situation of the soldiers for want of clothing beggars all description." They had no money for their families and Washington wrote that there had been a "total want of pay for nearly twelve months." No gentle remedy would have served any purpose in such a situation. There arose among them a hero with the plebeian name of William Bowser, but imbued with the spirit that won the war of the Revolution, a sergeant of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment. With every probability of being shot to death and covered with ignominy, with the nicest propriety of conduct, with a certain rude eloquence, he confronted Anthony Wayne, George Washington, the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Coun-

cil, and the Continental Congress. He was absolutely right as to his contentions, and musket in hand, he gained his cause by force, over the heads of them all, and brought about a relief from the difficulties that encompassed them. About nine o'clock in the night of the first of January, 1781, the line arose *en masse*, formed on parade with their arms and without their officers, took possession of the provisions and ammunition, seized six pieces of artillery, took the horses from the stables, swept the ground with round shot and grape, and proposed to march to Philadelphia and see to it that their grievances were redressed. Some of the officers who tried to stem the torrent were killed. Some of the men were stricken with swords and espontoons and their bodies trampled beneath the hoofs of the horses. Then there were conferences. Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania, and the Congress began to stir themselves and to make strenuous efforts to meet the troubles of the situation. For two weeks the men kept up a perfect discipline and permitted Wayne, with Colonels Butler and Stewart, to come and go among them. Sir Henry Clinton sent two emissaries to them with a written proposition to afford them protection, to pay in gold all the arrears of wages due from the Congress, and to exempt them from all military service. It was no doubt a tempting offer. It would have ended the war, and the Colonies would have remained dependencies. These patriots were not made of such stuff. They at once handed over to Washington the British agents, who were on the twelfth promptly hanged. Reed had the indelicacy to offer a reward in money, which Bowser declined because the spies had been surrendered "for the zeal and love of our country." In the end the Government discharged twelve hundred and fifty men whose terms had expired, thus admitting its delinquency, gave to each poor fellow a pair of shoes, an overall and a shirt, and promised that the "arrearages of pay (were) to be made up as soon as circumstances will admit." The greater number of the men willingly reënlisted and Israel went back to its

tents. "The path we tread is justice and our footsteps founded upon honor," announced Sergeant Bowser.

The war now drifted to the southward and Wayne with eight hundred of the Pennsylvania line appeared in Virginia. Washington ordered the line to be transferred to the Southern Army, and wishing a brigadier to go with the first detachment so as to be ready to form the whole, wrote to Wayne: "This duty of course devolves upon you." Lafayette, then in Virginia, warmly expressed his gratification and Greene did not hesitate to declare: "You must know you are the Idle [Idol] of the legion."

A tragedy preceded the movement of the troops into the campaign. As has been shown, they had been promised that the arrearages of their wages would be paid to them. The money came while they were in York, in Pennsylvania, but it was the paper of the Continental Congress. According to Wayne this paper was then worth about one-seventh of its face value, and the people of the neighborhood declined to accept it in exchange for what they had to sell. On the twenty-fourth of May a few men on the right of each regiment, when formed in line, called out that they wanted real, and not ideal, money," and that "they were no longer to be trifled with." These men were ordered to retire to their tents, and they refused to go. The officers, who had come prepared, promptly knocked them down and put them in confinement, a court-martial was ordered on the spot, the trial proceeded before the soldiers paraded under arms, and in the course of a few hours the accused were convicted of mutiny and shot. Says Wayne: "Whether by design or accident the particular friends and messmates of the culprits were their executioners." Our patriotic forefathers of the Revolutionary War were not altogether gentle and mild-mannered persons. To Polly, whose tender heart must have been moved by the painful recital, he explained: "I was obliged to make an exemplary punishment, which will have a very happy effect." But we find more relief in a letter he wrote about the same time to Nicholson, the

paymaster: "My feelings will not permit me to see the widows and orphans of brave and worthy soldiers who have fought, bled and died under my own eye, deprived of those rights they are so justly entitled to." His careless servant Philip lost the greater part of his table linen and napkins; his carriage and its horses, his baggage wagon with its four horses, a driver and four soldiers were at the plantation of Colonel Simm; "But hark, the ear piercing fife, the spirit stirring drum, and all the pomp and glorious circumstance of war," summoned him to horse, and away they hurried to Virginia, crossing the Potomac with artillery and baggage upon four little boats, one of which sank, drowning a few men, and reaching Leesburg, a distance of thirty miles, in two days. On another day, when there was no river to cross, they marched twenty-two miles. As had grown to become customary, in the Virginia campaign as elsewhere, Wayne went to the front. On the twenty-fifth of June Lafayette wrote: "Having given you the command of our advanced corps, consisting of Butler's advance and your Pennsylvanians, I request you to dispose of them in the best way you think proper."

Cornwallis had his headquarters at Portsmouth and held control of the peninsula between the York and the James rivers, while Lafayette, whose force was much inferior, marched hither and yon in an effort to prevent the British detachments from getting supplies and if possible to cut them off and effect their capture. On the sixth of July what he thought to be the coveted opportunity arose. Information came that Cornwallis, in moving down the James River, had left his rear guard on the eastern bank near Green Spring, and that his army was divided with a river between. Lafayette ordered Wayne, with eight hundred men, nearly all of them from Pennsylvania, and three field pieces, to make an attack upon this rear guard. After crossing a swamp by means of a causeway, and coming upon the enemy, they discovered too late that the information was erroneous, and that they were confronted by the

whole British army of four thousand men under command of Cornwallis himself. The lion, awakened from his sleep, sprang forward in a dangerous mood and soon flanking parties began to envelope Wayne upon both sides. Here was a serious problem—a swamp in the rear, an enemy on the front, and overwhelming forces closing around. What was to be done? Lafayette hurried off an aide to bring up his army, but they were five miles away, and what might not be accomplished while ten miles of country were being traversed? To retreat was to be utterly lost. To stand still meant ultimate capture. Situations such as these, requiring the capacity to think accurately in the midst of unexpected crises, which Hooker was unable to do at Chancellorsville, and the character bravely and vigorously to act upon the conclusions reached, in which Lee failed at Monmouth, furnish the real test of military ability. Wayne boldly ordered a charge, the troops had entire confidence in his leadership, and he succeeded. Cornwallis, with an estimated loss of three hundred in killed and wounded, retired toward Portsmouth to meet his now threatened fate. Of the Americans one hundred and twenty were killed or wounded. Lafayette in general orders proclaimed: "The general is happy in acknowledging the spirit of the detachment commanded by General Wayne in their engagement with the total of the British Army. . . . The conduct of the Pennsylvania field and other officers are new instances of their gallantry and talents." Greene, who had a somewhat undue respect for the British general, wrote: "Be a little careful and tread softly, for depend upon it you have a modern Hannibal to deal with in the person of Cornwallis. Oh, that I had had you with me a few days ago."

Washington placidly wrote: "I cannot but feel myself interested in the welfare of those to whose gallant conduct I have so often been a witness," while the more youthful and mercurial Light Horse Harry Lee could not restrain his enthusiasm, almost shouting: "I feel the highest joy in

knowing that my dear friend and his gallant corps distinguished themselves so gloriously."

The wounded soldiers lacked hospital accommodations and supplies. Wayne ordered them to be furnished, and if there should be trouble about the payment, "place it to my account." This was not the first time he assumed individual pecuniary responsibility for the relief of his men and the welfare of the cause. In 1777, when there was great distress for want of provisions, he sent ten head of cattle to the army from his own farm and had not been paid for them as late as 1780.

The Continental army and the French fleet were about to concentrate and close in around Cornwallis, and in keeping him occupied and preventing the Virginia raids the army of Lafayette had borne its part in bringing about the result. On one occasion Wayne made, as he says, a push for Tarleton at Amelia, but the doughty Colonel had precipitately retreated. It seems almost a pity that they could not have come together. In August for six days during a period of two weeks, the soldiers of Wayne had been "without anything to eat or drink except new Indian corn and water. . . . Neither salt, spirits, bacon or flour," but such inconvenience did not dampen their ardor. For a time Wayne had been at "Westover," and he impressed his hostess, the courtly Mrs. Byrd, who wrote: "I shall ever retain the highest sense of your politeness and humanity, and take every opportunity of testifying my gratitude." The part he took in holding Cornwallis was important. On August the thirty-first, Lafayette thought that if Cornwallis did not that night cross to the south of the James, twenty-five ships of the Comte de Grasse having been sighted, he would have to stand a siege. The Marquis sent Wayne over the river and wrote, "now that you are over, I am pretty easy." Wayne posted his men at Cobham on the south side of the James, opposite to Cornwallis, with nothing but the river between them, selected a location on James Island for three thousand of the French, who had landed

too far below to be effective in preventing the possible retreat of Cornwallis, and then at eight o'clock in the night mounted his horse and rode ten miles to hold a conference with Lafayette, who had sent an express rider to point out the way. About ten o'clock he arrived at the camp, whereupon the sentry upon guard shot him. He had given the password, but the unfortunate guard, whose mind was intent upon the proximity of the British, made a mistake. In the midst of the alarm created, Wayne had great difficulty in preventing the whole squad from firing at him. The ball struck in the middle of the thigh, grazed the bone, and lodged on the other side. Instantaneously he felt a severe pain in the foot which he called the gout. For two weeks he was out of service and at the end of that time could only move around in a carriage. For the guard he had only sympathy, and he called him a "poor fellow," but he vented his indignation upon Peters: "Your damned commissary of military plays false. He has put too little powder in the musket cartridges. . . . If the damned cartridge had a sufficiency of powder the ball would have gone quite through in place of lodging." In view of the pain and the patriotism we may surely, like the recording angel, pardon the profanity. That he accurately understood the surrounding conditions and that his judgment as to the outcome was sound, appears from a letter of September the twelfth, wherein he says: "We have the most glorious certainty of very soon obliging Lord Cornwallis with all his army to surrender prisoners of war." What a contrast these thoughts present to those of another letter written on the same day to his little daughter: "If you have not already begun your French I wish you to request that lady to put you to it as soon as possible. . . . Music, dancing, drawing. . . . Apropos have you determined to hold your head up?"

One of the final attacks at Yorktown was supported by two battalions of Pennsylvania troops and the second parallel of the approaching works of the besiegers they and

the Maryland troops completed. When Cornwallis on the nineteenth surrendered, the guards for one of his fortifications were selected from the French, and for the other from the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops. Since the French had a fleet of thirty-seven vessels of war, and an army twice as numerous as that of the Colonies, Wayne was sufficiently just to concede that the victory was not altogether due "to the exertions of America."

Soon after the surrender an incident occurred which shows what personal manliness and appreciation of the duty of a soldier actuated Wayne in his conduct. He was suffering from the effects of his recent wound and asked for a short leave of absence. Washington, who was himself about to go north to Philadelphia, where he remained until March, but whose purpose was to send Wayne to the South where the war still lingered, gave a not very cheerful assent. Whereupon Wayne wrote: "As a friend I told you that my feelings were hurt. As a soldier I am always ready to submit to difficulties. . . . Your Excellency puts it upon a ground which prevents me from accepting," and getting into a carriage, with such rapidity of progress as was practicable, he made his way to Greene in South Carolina along with the Pennsylvania line.

Greene sent him to Georgia, and much to his regret, without his old troops. However, he had about four hundred dragoons, one hundred and seventy infantry, a detachment of field artillery, and such militia as could be raised from time to time. The British had possession of Savannah with thirteen hundred regulars, five hundred militia, and an indefinite number of refugees and Creek and Cherokee Indians. The people of Georgia were so impoverished that the Legislature authorized the Governor to seize ten negroes and sell them in order to secure his salary. The country below the Briar Creek between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers had become a complete desert. The Whigs and Tories maintained a partisan warfare of the most desperate character, in which mercy to prisoners was neither expected

nor shown. Into this caldron Wayne plunged, and for the first time in his career he determined for himself the features of a campaign. It is interesting to observe what was expected of him and what were the facilities afforded him for its accomplishment. At the outset Greene sounded this note of warning: "Your reputation depends more on averting a misfortune than on achieving something very great. Brilliant actions may fade, but prudent conduct never can. Your reputation can receive no additional lustre from courage, while prudential conduct will render it complete," and when it came to the methods to be pursued his suggestions were equally definite and helpful: "I think you should try to hold out encouragement to the Tories to abandon the enemy's interest and though you cannot promise positively to pardon them you may promise to do all in your power to procure it." In brief, Greene had nothing to offer and his utmost hope was that no disaster should occur. Wayne in the early part of January, 1782, threw up intrenchments at a point on the Savannah River twenty-five miles above the city of Savannah and established a line across to the Ogeechee, intended to separate the British from their Indian allies and to cut off the sources of supplies. Immediately things began to move and the prospect to brighten. Wayne drafted a proclamation to be issued by the Governor of Georgia offering full pardon to the Tories. At the end of six weeks not an officer or soldier had had an opportunity to remove his clothing, but by the twenty-sixth of January the British had been driven from three of their outposts. The Choctaws, on their way to Savannah, January the thirtieth, were intercepted, twenty-six warriors, six white men and ninety-three pack-horses captured, and while hostages were held the chiefs were sent back to their tribe with messages of friendliness and peace. By the middle of February the British were confined to the city. On the last day of the same month he burned a lot of British forage within half a mile of Savannah. On one occasion he had a personal rencontre with a Creek chief, in which the

chief killed his horse, and he cut down the Indian with his sword. On the twenty-first of April he heard again from Greene, who wrote: "General Barnwell tells me you talk of taking position nearer the enemy. It is not my wish you should," to which Wayne, who held a different view, replied: "I never had an idea of taking a position within striking distance, but such a one as would tend to circumscribe the enemy without committing myself. Such a position is about six miles in our front, and if I am joined by a corps of gentlemen under Colonel Clarke agreeable to promise, I shall take it." The next day Greene wrote that there was no ammunition with which to meet the demands of Wayne, that he had no arms to send, that the cartouche-boxes were all in use, and ordering that Captain Gill be withdrawn to join his own army. With the order recalling Gill, Wayne instantly and reluctantly complied.

On the twenty-first of May the Seventh Regiment of British Infantry with a force of Cavalry, Hessians, Choctaw Indians and Tories moved out to the distance of four miles from Savannah. In the night Wayne crossed the swamp, which was thought to be a protection, attacked and routed them with great loss, made a number of captures, including Lieutenant Colonel Douglass and thirty horses, and the next morning rode within sight of the city.

> "Wise commanders always own
> What's prosperous by their soldiers done,"

and Greene expressed his pleasure by saying: "You have disgraced one of the best officers the enemy have." In an effort to drag Greene along still further, Wayne wrote: "Do let us dig the caitiffs out. It will give an éclat to our arms to effect a business in which the armament of our great and good ally failed." Fortunately we have more than the usual amount of information concerning the minor incidents and the manner of life through this campaign. Captured Indians were treated with kindness and kept in a room with fire so that they could do their cooking. We

are told by Wayne that "Cornell is a dangerous villian. He must be properly secured or bought." To Polly, "my dear girl," he wrote: "Tell my son when he is master of his Latin grammar I will make him a present equal to his sister's when she is mistress of her French."

The whole force of the militia of Georgia consisted of ninety men. There were numbers of the men who had nothing like a coat. There was only one camp kettle to every twenty men. An officer who came to camp with a letter of introduction was entertained with cold beef, rice and "alligator water," but at a more happy time we catch sight of "a quarter cask of Madeira wine, ten and a half gallons of rum, and about two hundred weight of Muscavado sugar." When a dragoon was scalped and his body dragged about the streets of Savannah, Wayne proposed to make victims of an Indian chief and a British officer. He prevented Mrs. Byng, a free quadroon, from being sold as a slave with her children, though her husband had been executed "as a villain, a murderer and outlaw." A lady asked to see him and sent him a union cockade, to which he gallantly replied: "Nature has been but too partial in furnishing Miss Maxwell with every power to please. Notwithstanding these dangerous circumstances, the general as a soldier cannot decline the interview." The personal servant of the British Captain Hughes, who had been captured, he on request sent back, and the captain appreciated "the uncommon attention and extreme courtesy."

Through it all Greene kept up a constant nagging. "You will please order the same issues as are directed in this army. I am willing the troops should have what is sufficient, but by no means more," and at another time, "I was told you proposed to get some clothing from Charlestown and pay in rice. . . . I wish you therefore to avoid it nor attempt anything of the kind," were some of his cheering messages. On the sixth of June he rather overdid himself, writing: "Far less regularity and economy has been made use of in the subsistance of your troops than

I could have wished. . . . I find one pound and a quarter of beef and one pound and a quarter of rice is a sufficient ration for any soldier . . . both men and officers should be allowed a reasonable subsistence, but nothing is more pernicious than indulgence." In one sense no letter was ever more happily conceived. It called forth and secured for our benefit a pen sketch by Anthony Wayne of one of his campaigns, which is a contribution to historical literature. In response Wayne said: "I have received yours of the 6th inst. on the subject of rations and economy. . . . I am extremely obliged to you for the anxiety you express for every part of my conduct to appear in the most favorable light. . . . On the 19th of January we passed the Savannah River in three little canoes, swimming the horses; that by manœuvres we obliged the enemy to abandon every outpost and to retire into the town of Savannah; that we found the country a perfect desert, neither meat or bread kind except what was within the influence of their arms; that notwithstanding this circumstance and surrounded by hostile savages we subsisted ourselves from the stores of the enemy at the point of the sword until with the assistance of a few reclaimed citizens, artificers and slaves we built a number of large boats and rebuilt twelve capital bridges for the purpose of transportation, and three respectable redoubts to enable us to hold the country, without any other expense to the public than a few hundred bushels of rice and beef in proportion, which beef as well as at least one-third of all that has yet been issued in this army cost the United States nothing except the lives of three or four men; the very salt we used was made by ourselves, and the iron, etc., with which our horses were shod, boats built, wagons repaired, espontoons made and every kind of smithwork done were also procured without any cost to the public except for a very small proportion for which, as well as the labor, we were necessitated to barter some articles of provisions. We were also obliged to exchange some rice and meat for leather

and thread to make and repair the horse accoutrements, harness, etc., or to abandon the country. . . . No army was ever supported for less expense or more service rendered in proportion to numbers than on the present occasion. . . . If severe discipline, constant duty, perpetual alarm, and facing every difficulty and danger be an indulgence, I candidly confess that the officers and men under my command have experienced it to a high degree."

At half after one o'clock on the night of June the 24th the Creek Indians, with British assistance, made an attack upon the post, but after the first surprise were soon routed, leaving many dead, including two white men, on the field. One hundred and seven horses were among the spoils, but their masters, the Indian braves, were subjected to "the bayonet to free us from encumbrance."

The end of it all was that, on the eleventh of July, the British sailed away from Savannah to the West Indies. On the twelfth Wayne, at the head of his horsemen, rode in triumph through the streets of the city and the soil of Georgia was never again trodden by the feet of the enemy. The grateful State set apart four thousand guineas to buy for Wayne a tract of land, and the captious but converted Greene bore tribute before the Congress to his "singular merit and exertions."

He had one further and final service to render to his country in the War of the Revolution. When on the fourteenth day of December, 1782, the British forces marched out of the city of Charleston, leaving at last the Southern colonies to rest and peace, two hundred yards in their rear at the head of that part of the Continental army, bringing with him promise and hope, Anthony Wayne rode into the relieved city, a fitting climax to his many efforts and trials through the eventful struggle.

The ensuing ten years Wayne spent in civil pursuits and private life, endeavoring to recover from the effects of a malarial fever contracted in Georgia, at one time believed to be fatal, and struggling with those financial difficulties

which beset men who devote their energies to the public service instead of to the betterment of their own fortunes. Throughout all of this period, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, the embers of the war were still smouldering, and it was not until after the close of the second contest in 1812 that Americans could feel secure in their independence. The country west of the Ohio was occupied by Indian tribes ever ready to bring devastation, destruction and desolation to the homes of the border settlers, and ever incited and aided by the British who held a number of posts along the lakes. Washington, who had become the President of the United States, selected, to command forces sent to overawe them, Harmar and St. Clair in succession, and each was in turn defeated, the latter with circumstances of peculiar horror and dismay from the loss of such noted soldiers as Butler and Crawford, the latter burned at the stake. Then he sent for Anthony Wayne, gave him at last the commission of a major general, and placed him in command of the Army of the United States. In modest and serious words Wayne accepted the responsibility. "I clearly foresee that it is a command which must inevitably be attended with the most anxious care, fatigue, and difficulty, and from which more may be expected than will be in my power to perform, yet I should be wanting both in point of duty and gratitude to the President were I to decline an appointment however arduous to which he thought proper to nominate me," was the language of his letter to the Secretary of War, April 13th, 1792.

The underlying motive of the war was the determination of the Indians to make the River Ohio the permanent boundary between them and the United States, and the fact that after the concession by Virginia of her western claims the Ohio Company, under the leadership of Rufus Putnam, had established a settlement within what is now the State of Ohio. Within seven years fifteen hundred people had been massacred. Another defeat, said the Secretary of War with auspicious suggestion, would be ruinous

to "the reputation of the government." In its origin, in its conduct, in its results, and even in its details, the expedition was almost a repetition of the march of Cæsar into Gaul. The fierce savages of a vast and unknown territory were about to be subjected, and an empire of civilization to be erected upon the lands over which they held sway. Wayne organized his army in Pittsburg and some such forecast must have occurred to the minds of those in authority, for it was called not an army but a legion. This legion, it was intended, should be composed of over four thousand men, but there were actually under arms two thousand six hundred and thirty-one. Where it was recruited appears with approximate accuracy in June, 1793, when the Secretary of War sent one hundred and nineteen men from Pennsylvania, one hundred and one from Virginia, one hundred and one from New Jersey and thirty from Maryland, and when Wayne issued a call for volunteers for six weeks one hundred and sixty-six from Ohio, one hundred and sixty-four from Westmoreland, one hundred and sixty-four from Washington, eighty from Fayette, and eighty-two from Allegheny, these last four being counties in Pennsylvania. Along with the organization of the legion came the most rigid enforcement of discipline. During the progress of the campaign, in which the greatest vigilance was necessary, at least two soldiers were shot to death for sleeping on their posts. When Wayne found some of them drunk in the village, now the city of Cincinnati, he ordered that no passes be thereafter granted. Whiskey was kept out of the camp. Careful directions were issued describing the methods of meeting attacks upon each flank and upon the rear. He placed reliance on the bayonet and the sword, and urged his men not to forget that "the savages are only formidable to a flying enemy." The crowns of the hats of the men were covered with bear skin. He insisted upon cleanliness of person and regularity of diet. "Breakfast at eight o'clock, dine at one; meat shall be boiled and soup made of it . . . a good old

soldier will never attempt to roast or fry his meat." Every day the field officers, sub-lieutenants and captains of the guard dined with him, and his salary did not pay the expenses of the table. One hundred lashes with wire cats were sometimes inflicted as punishment. He adroitly sowed and cultivated dissensions among the Indians, having in his army the chief Cornplanter as well as ninety Choctaws and twenty-five Chickasaws. The war lasted for over two years, and we are enabled to appreciate the condition of wilderness in which it was conducted when we learn that he was without communication from the Secretary of War in Philadelphia from December to April. The British, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of peace, had established certain posts within the country and Wayne was given authority if he found it necessary to dislodge them. To his wisdom and discretion, therefore, was trusted the grave question of renewing the war with England. Just before the march an interesting incident occurred. On the first of June, 1792, he granted a leave of absence to Alexander Purdy, a soldier in Captain Heth's company, in order that he might assist in printing at Pittsburg a pamphlet written by Hugh H. Brackenridge, " the first publication of the kind ever proposed in the western country."

Late in the summer of 1792 he moved his army twenty-seven miles down the Ohio River and there encamped for the winter. In May of 1793 he advanced as far as the site of Cincinnati. Like all human movements in which various forces are concerned, there was much delay due to differences of views and divergences of counsels. Wayne had reached the conclusion that we should never have a permanent peace until the Indians were taught to respect the power of the United States, and until the British were compelled to give up their posts along the shores of the lakes. In Philadelphia the Government was timid about entering upon the war, and previous defeats had made it fearful of the outcome. Knox, the Secretary of War, wrote that the sentiments of the people " are adverse in the ex-

treme to an Indian War," and again "it is still more necessary than heretofore that no offensive operations should be undertaken against the Indians," and finally that a "defeat at the present time and under the present circumstances would be pernicious in the highest degree to the interests of the country." While the hostile Indians were perfecting their combinations and holding their pow-wows with Simon Girty and an aide of the British Colonel Simcoe, who promised them protection as well as arms, ammunition, and provisions, the Government sent B. Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering to Fort Erie to negotiate for peace. The result of these efforts was that after gaining what time was needed the Indians refused to treat at all, and the duty fell upon Wayne to see that the commissioners reached home with their scalps on their heads, for which they formally gave him thanks. To make a general war was the conclusion of the tribes. Wayne then wrote to Knox: "Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation and feeling for the honor and reputation of the government which I shall support with my latest breath, you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily."

By the thirteenth of October he had marched to a point on a branch of the Miami River, eighty miles north of Cincinnati, where he found a camp which he fortified and called Greenville and there he remained through the winter. The march was so rapid and the order maintained so perfect, that the Indian scouts were baffled. From there he sent a corps with guides and spies six miles further along the trail of Harmar to secure "intelligence and scalps." He likewise detached a force to go to the field where St. Clair had been defeated, to bury the bones of the dead and erect a fort called Fort Recovery.

In May a lieutenant with a convoy gallantly charged and repelled an assault.

On the thirtieth of June about seventeen hundred of the enemy made a desperate attempt to capture an escort under the walls of Fort Recovery and to carry the fort by storm,

keeping up a heavy fire and making repeated efforts for two days, but were finally repulsed. Twenty-one soldiers were killed and twenty-nine wounded, and no doubt both sides were animated by the memories of the misfortunes of St. Clair at the same place. A few days later, after receiving some reënforcements of mounted men from Kentucky, he marched seventy miles into the heart of the Indian country, built Fort Defiance at the junction of the Le Glaize and Miami rivers, and then within sight of a British fort on the Miami made his preparations for the battle which was inevitable. He had marched nearly four hundred miles through the country of an enemy, both watchful and vindictive; had cut a road through the woods the entire way, upon a route longer, more remote and more surrounded with dangers than that of Braddock; had overcome the almost insuperable difficulties of securing supplies; had built three forts, and now had reached a position where the issue must be decided by arms. On the morning ot August 20th, 1794, the army advanced five miles, with the River Miami on the right, a brigade of mounted volunteers on their left, a light brigade on their rear, and a selected battalion of horsemen in the lead. They came to a place where a tornado had swept through the forest, and thrown down the trees, since called the Fallen Timbers, and where the twisted trunks and limbs lay in such profusion as to impede the movements of the cavalry. Here the Indians, two thousand in number, encouraged by the proximity of the British fort, determined to make a stand. Hidden in the woods and the high grass, they opened fire upon the mounted men in the front and succeeded in driving them back to the main army. The enemy were formed in three lines in supporting distance of each other, extending for about two miles at right angles to the river and were protected and covered by the woods. Wayne formed his force in two lines. He soon perceived from the firing and its direction that they were strong in numbers on his front and were endeavoring to turn his left flank. He met this situa-

tion by ordering up the rear line to support the first, by sending a force by a circuitous route to turn the right of the enemy, by sending another force at the same time along the river to turn their left, and by a direct charge with trailed arms in the front to drive the Indians from their covert with the bayonet, his favorite weapon. The Indians could not resist the onset, broke in confusion, and were driven two miles in the course of an hour through the woods with great loss. Their dead bodies and British muskets lay scattered in all directions. The next day Wayne rode forward and inspected the British fort. The Major in command wanted to know "in what light am I to view your making such near approaches to this garrison?" to which Wayne replied that, had the occasion arisen, the fort would not have much impeded "the progress of the victorious army." All of the villages, corn fields, and houses, including that of McKee, the British Indian agent, within a scope of one hundred miles were burned and destroyed.

American annals disclose no such other victory over the savage tribes. For the next quarter of a century there were peace and safety along the border. It secured for civilization the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. It made possible the development of such states as Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. When the information reached London the British Government, recognizing that the cause of the Indians was hopeless, ordered the evacuation of the posts at Detroit, Oswego and Niagara. Twenty years later there was written in praise of Perry's victory on Lake Erie that it was only second in importance to the West to that of Wayne at the Fallen Timbers.

Two weeks later Wayne was crushed to the earth by a falling tree, so much bruised as to cause great pain and hemorrhages, and only the fortunate location of a stump, on which the tree partially lodged, saved his life.

After the treaty of cession and peace had been executed, and after an absence in the wilderness for three years, he returned home in 1795, everywhere hailed with loud acclaim

as the hero of the time and received in Philadelphia by the City Troop and with salvos from cannon, ringing of bells, and fireworks.

His last battle had been fought. His work was done. "Both body and mind are fatigued by the contest," were his pathetic words. Soon afterward the President sent him as commissioner to Detroit and on his return he died at Presque Isle, now Erie, December the 15th, 1796.

We have this description of his personal appearance: "He was above what is termed the middle stature and well proportioned. His hair was dark. His forehead was high and handsomely formed. His eyes were dark hazel, intelligent, quick and penetrating. His nose inclined to be aquiline."

His was a bold spirit. His six wounds indicate that he did not hesitate to expose his person when need arose, but he possessed beside that moral courage which enabled him to move with steady step when confronted with difficult and complicated propositions where the weak waver. Neither the fortifications at Stony Point nor the unknown wilds of Ohio made him uncertain. No man was potent enough either in military or civil affairs to give him affront with impunity. He was on the verge of a duel with Lee, with St. Clair, and with some others. He did not hesitate on occasion to say "damn." At the same time he was almost sentimental in his affections. Attached to his wife, who was ever to him "Polly," or "my dear girl," he wanted her to come to him in camp, and he never wrote to her without telling her to kiss for him his "little son and daughter." A negro boy waited upon the officers of the light infantry, and when the corps was dissolved they determined to sell him. "The little naked negro boy, Sandy," wrote Wayne, "so often ordered to be sold, is in my possession and newly clothed. I shall take care of him."

He had healthy cravings. He was fond of porter and Madeira, of venison, cheese and sugar, of dress, of the approval of his fellow men, of the glory that follows successful military achievement. He drank tea as well as wine.

He could be prudent and even diplomatic. Had he rushed upon the Pennsylvania line when they were aroused and angry, he would have been killed. He opposed in 1778 chasing after Clinton in Connecticut. Contrary to the thought of Washington, he ordered a regiment to follow towards Stony Point for the purpose of having the men who were to make the charge strengthened by a sense of support. When the irritated Colonel Humpton claimed that Wayne's servant had taken his puppy and demanded its return Wayne presented his compliments, denied the facts, declined to " dispute so trifling a matter," and sent the dog. He refused to lend his pistols to his friend, Major Fishbourne, who wanted to fight a duel. He had certain philosophical tendencies. "For law is like war—a trade to a common capacity, but a science to a man of abilities," he wrote to his son, and again, "let integrity, industry and probity be your constant guides." He did not believe that the Colonies could depend upon the aid of France, but contended that they must rest " on the firm ground of our own virtue and prowess." It was because of these tendencies that he was so particular about the discipline and dress of the soldiers, so insistent upon the provision for their needs, so reliant upon the moral effect of the cutting edge of a weapon, and so careful to cultivate the pride and esprit of the corps. He always wanted Pennsylvania troops to be with him in his campaigns, not that he intended to reflect upon those of other states, but because they and he had learned to trust each other and knew the value of the association. His willingness to encounter danger and to take the risks of responsibility was by no means all due to to the impulse of a military temperament. He saw, and more than once made his vision plain, that many and perhaps the most of those around him were subservient in thought and feeling. They had so long regarded the English as masters that when they met them as foes they had more respect for the enemy than confidence in themselves. He knew that the first step toward independence must be an

enlargement of soul. He called no Englishman a Hannibal, and when he met the pseudo Roman on the James, struck him with a spear, and after his capture invited him to dine. The supreme contribution of Wayne to the American cause was that more than any other general he gave it inspiration. He proved that an English force could be assailed and compelled to surrender in a stronghold regarded as impregnable, and his conduct affected for good the whole army. The most diffident were given courage by the example of Wayne.

His letters, while lacking in literary skill and somewhat too roseate in their style, unlike much of the correspondence of the period, which is stilted, stiff and vague, always give vivid pictures and make entirely plain the thought he purposed to convey. No one can read them intelligently without being impressed with the accuracy of their reasoning and the correctness of his judgment upon military problems. He understood the conditions in Georgia better than Greene. He comprehended the situation in Ohio more clearly than Knox. The orders of Washington, Schuyler, Lafayette and Greene show very plainly that when they were met by a difficult situation, requiring strenuous mental and physical effort, they were all disposed to call for the assistance of Wayne. Every general under whom he served sent him to the front. He had the advance at Germantown, and Monmouth, and on the James in Virginia. He was the first to enter Savannah and Charleston. No other general of the Revolution had so varied an experience. Greene came the nearest to him in this respect, but he neither fought so far North nor so far South. He was the only one of them who added to his reputation as a soldier after the close of the Revolution. The most dangerous event that can happen to a successful general is to be required to command under different conditions in a later war. History is strewn with the wrecks of reputations lost under such circumstances. Wayne was subjected to this supreme test, and still he triumphed. He is the only gen-

eral of the Revolutionary War in whose achievements the great West, rapidly becoming the source of power in our government, can claim to have participation. The final popular judgment upon all questions is sure to reach the truth. As time has rolled along most of the generals of the Revolution have become as vague as shadows, but Wayne remains instinct with life and the heart yet warms at the recital of his deeds. No Commonwealth in America but has a county or town bearing his name. New York has made a State park of Stony Point, and ere long Ohio will do the like for the Fallen Timbers. One of the most inspiring of our lyrics written in the stress of the War of the Rebellion tells how "The bearded men are marching in the land of Anthony Wayne."

By no chance, therefore, does it happen that his statue is set upon the centre of the outer line at Valley Forge. It is where he stood in the cold and the drear of that gloomy and memorable winter, and the place he held on many a field of battle. This hallowed camp-ground, where was best shown that spirit of endurance and persistence which created a nation, shall tell, through the coming ages, to the future generations of men, the story of the bold soldier and consummate commander whose place seemed ever to be where the danger was the most threatening, and prudence and skill were the most essential.

ANTHONY WAYNE

BY

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